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CANADA'S ABORIGINAL POPULATION, 1981-1991



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CANADA'S ABORIGINAL POPULATION, 1981-1991

SUMMARY REPORT

September, 1996

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PURPOSE

This study explores changes over the 1981-1991 time period in selected socio-economic characteristics of Canada's Aboriginal population and compares these changes to those experienced by Canada's non-Aboriginal population. Data presented for the Aboriginal population distinguish among four main sub-groups, including registered Indians, non-status Indians, Métis and Inuit.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In support of the analysis of socio-economic change, the study examines the concepts and procedures used by the 1981 Census and the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS) for defining the Aboriginal population and analyzes the comparability of the populations captured via these two data sources. In this regard, analysis of Aboriginal population counts from the two data bases suggests that with the exception of the non-status Indian population, the populations identified by the two data sources appear to be sufficiently similar to support analyses of change in selected socio-economic characteristics between 1981 and 1991.

Subsequent comparisons of selected socio-economic indicators in 1981 and 1991 suggest that although some improvements in the socio-economic well-being of Canada's Aboriginal population occurred during the time period, the population continues to lag the non-Aboriginal population in this regard by a large margin. In spite of widespread increases in labour force participation during the decade, unemployment rates among most segments of the Aboriginal population also increased sharply during the period. In 1991, the size of the gap in unemployment rates between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal population was larger than in 1981, especially among youth.

With the exception of the Inuit population which reported negligible gains in incomes during the period, average incomes among the Aboriginal population were lower in 1990 than in 1980. As in the case of unemployment rates, the size of the income gap between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations also appears to have grown during the period.

In spite of widespread and substantial improvements between 1981 and 1991, the educational levels of Canada's Aboriginal population continued to lag those of the non-Aboriginal population by a wide margin in 1991. Some narrowing of the overall gap in education levels between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations appears to have occurred during the decade. Nevertheless, the relative gap between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal people with a completed university degree did not close between 1981 and 1991, although the percentage of Aboriginal people with a degree increased over the ten years. Moreover, the study's results also suggest that educational levels among the current generation of Aboriginal youth have not kept pace with those of the non-Aboriginal population.

On the whole, the study's results with respect to changes in Aboriginal socio-economic circumstances are not encouraging. Although sizeable improvements in Aboriginal education represent a positive development, the labour market conditions and incomes of the population appear to

have deteriorated during the decade. In this regard, the level of economic well-being of Canada's Aboriginal population appears to have fallen further behind that of the non-Aboriginal population.

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

Considerable interest exists with regard to identifying historic trends in the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Canada's Aboriginal population. Prior research in this regard, however, has been hampered by the lack of appropriate time series data which are based on comparable concepts or definitions of the Aboriginal population.

This report provides a summary of a broader study which explores changes over the 1981-1991 time period in selected socio-economic characteristics of Canada's Aboriginal population. The study, prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, focuses on two main objectives, including:

- to determine whether the concepts of *Aboriginality* associated with the 1981 Census and the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS) are sufficiently comparable to support analysis of temporal changes in the socio-economic characteristics experienced by Canada's Aboriginal population; and
- to identify the nature and scale of changes over the 1981-1991 period in selected socio-economic characteristics of Canada's Aboriginal population and to compare these changes to those which characterize the non-Aboriginal population.

The remainder of this report is structured into four sections. Chapter 2 discusses the concepts and procedures used by the 1981 Census and the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey for defining the Aboriginal population. Chapter 3 presents the results of an analysis of the comparability of the populations captured via these two data sources. Chapter 4 presents measures of the nature and scale of changes in selected socio-economic conditions of the Aboriginal population during the 1981-1991 period and compares these changes to those experienced by the non-Aboriginal population. A brief summary and conclusions are contained in the final section (Chapter 5).

CHAPTER 2 - CONCEPTS OF ABORIGINALITY ASSOCIATED WITH THE 1981 CENSUS AND 1991 APS

The national Census represents the main source of demographic and socio-economic data pertaining to Canada's Aboriginal population. Since 1981, Census data have allowed for definition of the Aboriginal population on the basis of **ethnic origins** and **registered Indian** status. Several difficulties, however, surround the use of Census Aboriginal ethnic origin data within the context of measuring change over time. These difficulties relate to the underlying concept of ethnic origins, as well as the manner or methods by which the data have been collected.

In general, the concept of ethnicity may be considered to be "fluid or situational" in nature, in the sense that factors other than biological descent have the potential to influence the individual's reporting of their ancestry. For example, recent research in the U.S. has demonstrated that the likelihood of Native peoples reporting Aboriginal origins has shifted considerably over time, with the emergence of a new expression of Aboriginal identity (Eschbach, 1993; Snipp, 1986; Passel, 1976). Similarly, within the Canadian context, attitudinal and legislative changes are believed to have contributed to an increased likelihood of reporting Aboriginal ethnic origins (Goldmann, 1993).

Changes over time in the propensity to report Aboriginal ethnic origins have been accompanied by changes in the wording (and instructions given to respondents) concerning the Census ethnic origin question. In general, wording and instruction changes following the 1981 Census have encouraged individuals to report as many ethnic origins as applicable (i.e. multiple responses). This situation is believed to have resulted in larger numbers of individuals reporting some Aboriginal origins in 1986 and 1991.

The difficulties associated with the use of the Aboriginal ethnic origin data for time series research can be illustrated by comparing the estimates of the population reporting Aboriginal

ethnic origins in 1981 and 1991. Between 1981 and 1991, the population reporting Aboriginal ethnic origins increased from 491,500 to 1,002,675 individuals, an increase substantially higher than that which could be accounted for by natural increase (i.e. births minus deaths). Clearly a large number of individuals who reported Aboriginal ethnic origins in 1991 did not do so in 1981.

This situation has prompted some researchers to view the 1981 population reporting Aboriginal origins, as a "**core population**", somewhat smaller than that which might be defined strictly on the basis of biological descent (Pryor, 1984). The 1981 Census (see Figure 1) allowed for four broad categories of Aboriginal persons: (i) Inuit, (ii) status or registered Indian, (iii) non-status Indian, and (iv) Métis. Accordingly, ethnic origin was actually combined with a legal classification (status/non-status) as defined by the Indian Act of Canada. Write-in responses from persons who did

Figure 1:
1981 Census Ethnic Origin Question

To which ethnic or cultural group did **you** or your ancestors belong on first coming to this continent?¹

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="radio"/> French | Native Peoples |
| <input type="radio"/> English | |
| <input type="radio"/> Irish | <input type="radio"/> Inuit |
| <input type="radio"/> Scottish | <input type="radio"/> Status or registered Indian |
| <input type="radio"/> German | <input type="radio"/> Non-Status Indian |
| <input type="radio"/> Italian | <input type="radio"/> Métis |
| <input type="radio"/> Ukrainian | |
| <input type="radio"/> Dutch (Netherlands) | |
| <input type="radio"/> Polish | |
| <input type="radio"/> Jewish | |
| <input type="radio"/> Chinese | |
| <input type="radio"/> Other (specify): _____ | |

not specify one of these broad categories were also accepted (e.g. Cree, Micmac) and coded appropriately. Furthermore, rules of descent were not specified - as to whether origin be traced through the respondent's paternal and/or maternal ancestry, nor were multiple responses actively encouraged nor discouraged. Yet, while there was no specific statement encouraging multiple responses, this possibility was accepted as valid for the first time. More specifically, if a person indicated that he/she had more than one origin, both were captured in coding the information collected through the census.

The population reporting Aboriginal origins in 1981 did so without intensive prompting and may comprise that subset of individuals of Aboriginal biological descent who closely identify with their Aboriginal heritage and/or culture. Although based on ethnic origin criteria, the concept of Aboriginality associated with the 1981 Census appears to be similar to the concept of Aboriginal identity employed by the Aboriginal Peoples Survey.²

The Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS), conducted in the fall of 1991, was administered to a large sample (roughly 180,000) of the individuals who reported Aboriginal ethnic origins (or registered Indian status) on the 1991 Census. The APS contained a question (See Figure 2) which attempted to determine whether the individual *identified* with an Aboriginal group [i.e. the concept of Aboriginal identity]. A trailing question probing for registered Indian status was also asked. As in the case of the 1981 Census,

respondents could be assigned to four Aboriginal groups, including registered Indians (i.e. North American Indians registered under the Indian Act), non-status Indians (i.e. North American Indians not registered under the Indian Act), Inuit and Métis. APS results reveal that roughly 38 percent of the individuals who reported Aboriginal ethnic origins (on the Census) did not identify with those origins.

Similarities between the 1981 Census and 1991 APS with respect to the underlying concept of the Aboriginal population suggest that it is worthwhile to undertake a more formal test of the comparability of the two data sources.

Figure 2:
1991 APS Identity Question

Your Census Questionnaire indicated that you have some Aboriginal ancestors or that you are a registered Indian, as defined by the Indian Act of Canada. By Aboriginal, I mean North American Indian, Inuit or Métis.

A1. With which Aboriginal group do you identify?

1. North American Indian
2. Inuit
3. Métis
4. Another Aboriginal Group

specify _____

5. Don't identify with an Aboriginal group

1a. Are you a registered Indian, as defined by the Indian Act of Canada?

CHAPTER 3 - COMPARABILITY OF THE 1981 CENSUS AND 1991 APS ABORIGINAL POPULATIONS

Direct record linkage across the 1981 Census and 1991 APS data bases would definitively establish the degree of comparability of the two data sources. This procedure, however, was not available to the study. As an alternative, the study employs the technique of intercensal cohort analysis, whereby the population counts of the 1981 Census are used to evaluate the population counts of the 1991 APS. This technique is commonly used for evaluating the reliability of census data.

The Intercensal Cohort Survival Method

Prior research has found that international migration (i.e. immigration and emigration) represents a very small component of population change among Canada's Aboriginal population (see Clatworthy, 1996). Within such a context (i.e. a closed population), the only factors which can contribute to population changes are mortality and fertility. Furthermore, for any individual age cohort, mortality (or survival) can be viewed as the only factor influencing the future size of the cohort. Given reliable estimates of rates of survival, it is possible to derive rather precise estimates of the size of various age cohorts at a later point in time.

By applying survival rates to the 1981 Aboriginal population, it is possible to obtain estimates of the expected population counts in 1991.³ The expected population counts can then be compared to the actual 1991 population counts, as derived from the APS.⁴ If the Aboriginal populations captured by the 1981 Census and 1991 APS are comparable, then the expected and actual population counts should be roughly similar in size. Large deviations between the expected and actual population counts would indicate that the populations captured by the two data sources are not comparable and do not provide a reasonable basis for measuring changes in population characteristics over time.

Comparisons of the expected and actual population counts by gender group are prepared separately for each of the four sub-groups comprising the Aboriginal population. Some adjustments to the 1981 Census and/or 1991 APS population counts were necessary to facilitate the comparison. For example, both the 1981 Census and 1991 APS experienced incomplete enumeration of Indian reserves. In order to establish consistency in survey coverage, populations associated with reserves that were not completely enumerated in both time periods were excluded from the analyses.

Data adjustments were also undertaken to account for the effects of the 1985 amendments to the Indian Act (known as Bill C-31). These amendments allowed for the restoration of Indian status to a large number of individuals who had previously lost status (as a consequence of provisions of prior Acts), and for the first time registration of many of their offspring. As a consequence of these changes, the registered Indian population in 1991 is not conceptually equivalent to that of 1981. Data collected by the APS concerning individuals registered under the provisions of Bill C-31 were used to adjust the 1991 APS registered Indian population to include only those individuals who did not acquire registered Indian status via Bill C-31. Individuals registered under Bill C-31 were added to the non-status Indian population in 1991 under the assumption that prior to gaining status, these individuals would have self-identified as non-status Indians.

Results Concerning the Comparability of the 1981 Census and 1991 APS Aboriginal Concepts

An estimated 415,425 individuals who reported Aboriginal ethnic origins in the 1981 Census are expected to have survived to 1991. The actual Aboriginal identity population in 1991, as measured by the APS totaled 459,040 for the

corresponding age group (i.e. individuals 10 or more years of age in 1991). Deviation between the expected and actual population counts totalled + 41,615 individuals or roughly 10 percent of the expected 1991 population. This result implies that many individuals who identified with an Aboriginal group in the 1991 APS did not report Aboriginal ethnic origins ten years earlier (in the 1981 Census). Although not insignificant, the size of the deviation between the two population estimates is not particularly large, suggesting that a reasonable level of comparability exists between the two data sources at least at the aggregate level.

The extent of variations between the expected and actual population counts for individual Aboriginal groups differed widely. Results of the comparability analysis conducted for each Aboriginal group are discussed briefly below.

The Inuit

Figure 3 identifies the expected and actual population counts for Inuit males and females in 1991. As illustrated in the figure, deviations between the expected and actual counts are quite small for both gender groups. The 1991 actual population count of Inuit males was 300 individuals (or about 2.5 percent) lower than that expected on the basis of *surviving* the 1981 population. For Inuit females, the 1991 actual count exceeded the expected count by 150 individuals, a deviation of roughly 1.3 percent of

the expected population. With respect to the combined (i.e. male and female) population, the expected and actual population counts differed by only 70 individuals (representing about 0.3 percent of the expected population). Analysis results in terms of the Inuit population suggest a very high degree of comparability between the 1981 Census and 1991 APS populations.

The Métis

Figure 4 presents similar data for the Métis population. Although differences between the expected and actual population counts for the Métis population are somewhat greater than those identified for the Inuit, differences are not large for either gender group. In the case of males, the actual 1991 APS count (43,430) is 1,685 individuals (or 3.7 percent) lower than that expected on the basis of surviving the 1981 population (45,115). The actual 1991 count for females (45,515) is 1,535 individuals (or about 3.3 percent) lower than the expected count (47,050). These differences may be accounted for by several factors including survey coverage differences between the 1981 Census and 1991 Census/APS, imprecision of the survival rates applied to the Métis population and the effects of Bill C-31. With respect to this latter factor, the possibility exists that some individuals who reported Métis origins in 1981 acquired registered Indian status through the provisions of Bill C-31 and no longer identify as Métis⁵.

Figure 3:
Inuit Population Survived from 1981 to 1991 Compared to the 1991 APS Counts

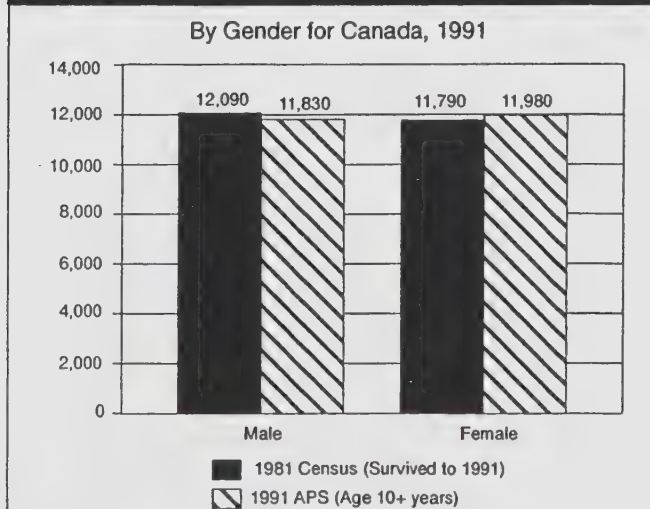
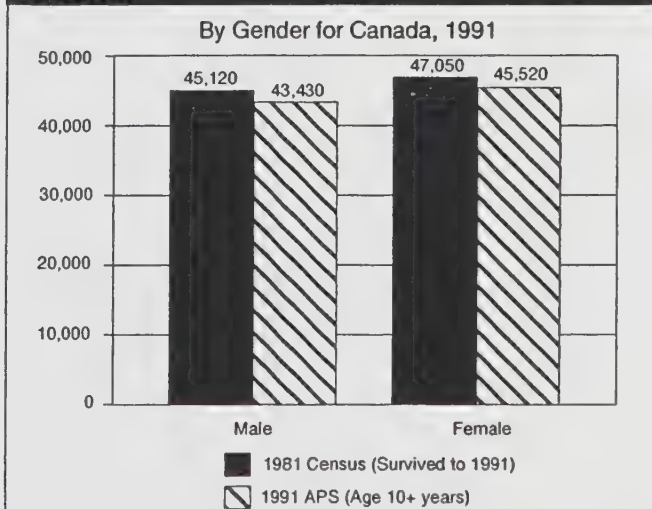


Figure 4:
Métis Population Survived from 1981 to 1991 Compared to the 1991 APS Actual Counts



Results of the analysis suggest that a relatively high degree of comparability exists between the 1981 Census and 1991 APS data concerning the Métis population. The two data sources appear to be sufficiently similar to support analysis of changes in the socio-economic characteristics of the Métis population over the 1981-1991 time period.

Registered Indians

In relation to the Inuit and Métis populations, larger differences between the expected and actual population counts exist for Canada's registered Indian population [i.e. those reporting in the APS to have North American Indian identity and who are registered under the Indian Act of Canada] (see Figure 5).⁶ In the case of both males and females, the actual 1991 population counts of the APS are lower than those expected on the basis of surviving the 1981 population. In the case of registered Indian males, the 1991 APS count (98,800) is 13,280 individuals (or about 12 percent) lower than the expected count. The difference between the actual and expected counts for registered Indian females is of a similar magnitude (13,500 individuals or about 11.5 percent of the expected population count).

It is highly unlikely that the observed differences between the population counts could result from the overstatement of the true population by the 1981 Census, as comparisons with Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) records have

long suggested a consistent under-enumeration of the registered Indian population by the Census. Lower than expected population counts for registered Indians may result from errors associated with survival rates used by this study to estimate the expected population. These rates may have overstated the actual level of survival experienced by the population, although it is highly unlikely that this factor could be responsible for all of the observed difference. Other explanations for the difference in the population counts include the possibility that the APS may have missed a substantial number of registered Indians. On the other hand, it is also possible that some individuals who reported North American Indian ethnic origins did not accurately report their legal status when asked in the APS.

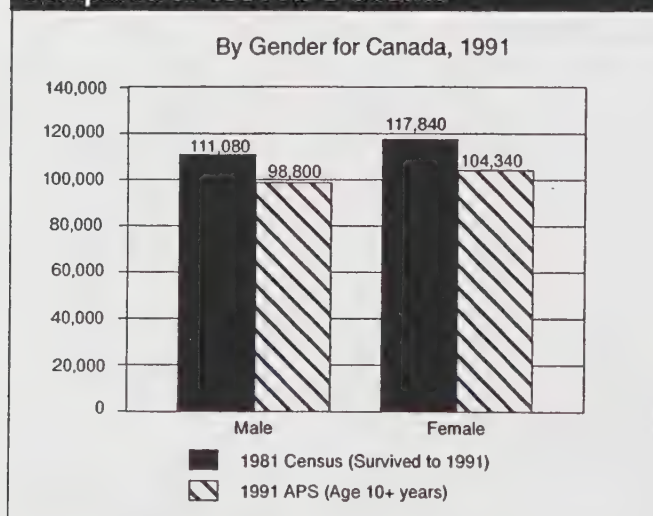
Of crucial importance to this study is the extent to which the characteristics of any registered Indians who were missed by the APS differed from those who were identified. Given the possibility that the two groups may differ (as a result of selectively bias), the study's results suggest that some caution should be exercised with respect to interpreting changes in the socio-economic characteristics of registered Indians from these data sources. Nevertheless, given the changes in the rules governing eligibility for registered Indian status which occurred during the 1981-1991 period and other possible sources of error in the data or the study's methodology, the observed difference between the expected and actual population counts of about 12 percent should not be viewed as especially large.

Non-status Indians

In contrast with the situation identified for the other Aboriginal groups, very large differences exist between the expected and actual population counts of non-status Indians (see Figure 6). For non-status Indian males, the 1991 actual population count (64,345) is 30,275 individuals (or 89 percent) higher than that expected on the basis of surviving the 1981 population. An even larger gap (43,410 individuals or 119 percent of the expected population) exists for non-status Indian females.

In addition to survey coverage differences and methodological problems noted previously, differences between the expected and actual

Figure 5:
North American Indian Population
(Registered) Survived from 1981 to 1991
Compared to 1991 APS Counts



population counts for the non-status Indian population may also derive from the manner in which the study has dealt with the population registered under Bill C-31. As noted earlier, the study assumes that individuals who gained or regained status through the provisions of Bill C-31 would have reported themselves as non-status Indians in 1981 in the absence of this legislation. As a consequence, 72,000 individuals (aged 10 or more years) were reallocated into the 1991 non-status Indian population (from the 1991 registered Indian population) in an attempt to facilitate analysis of population changes independent of Bill C-31 legislation. It is clearly possible that the study's assumption in this regard is erroneous.

While Bill C-31 registrants were included in the 1991 actual count of non-status Indians for the purposes of this study, it was not possible to determine how these same persons would have reported their origins and legal status in 1981. One explanation may be that many of these individuals did not report Aboriginal origin in 1981, as a consequence of being denied (or having lost) legal status through pre-1985 versions of the Indian Act. After 1985, Bill C-31 may have provided an

incentive to report not only Aboriginal origins in subsequent censuses (i.e. in 1986 and 1991), but also to report Aboriginal identity in the 1991 APS.

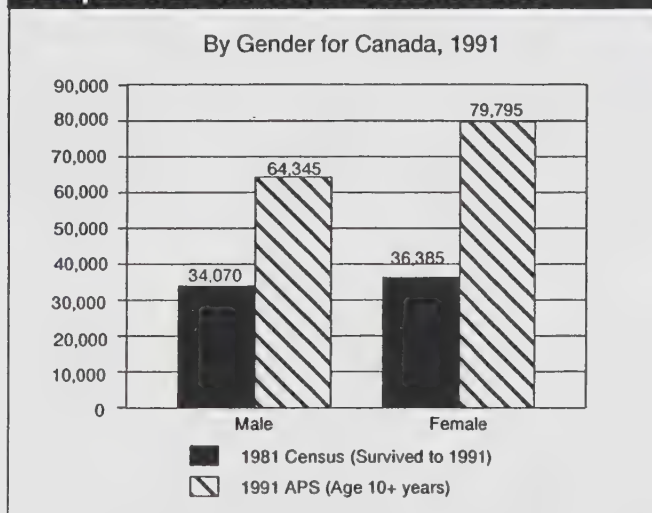
Other societal changes and events beyond those associated with Bill C-31 may also have encouraged identification with Aboriginal culture and origins. For example, the so-called "Oka crisis" at the Mohawk communities of Kanestake and Kanawake in the summer of 1990, and the constitutional reform and referendum process in 1991 and 1992 may also have contributed to raising awareness and consciousness of Aboriginal roots among individuals who previously did not identify as Aboriginal.

Regardless of the sources of the differences, the study's results strongly suggest that for this sub-group of the Aboriginal population, the two data sources are not comparable. Within the context of the 1981 Census and 1991 APS data sources, any comparisons undertaken for the non-status Indian population would appear to involve essentially two different sub-populations.

Summary

Comparisons of expected 1991 population counts (derived by surviving the 1981 Census population) to actual population counts from the 1991 APS reveal a fairly high level of consistency for the Inuit, Métis and registered Indian components of Canada's Aboriginal population. For these groups, there appears to be sufficient similarity of the 1981 Census and 1991 APS data bases to support analysis of historic changes in socio-economic characteristics. Analysis results for the non-status Indian component of the population reveals a very large discrepancy between expected and actual population counts suggesting that the non-status Indian populations captured through the 1981 Census and 1991 APS are different. As such, inferences concerning changes over time in the socio-economic characteristics of non-status Indians which are based on these two data sources are likely to be problematic.

Figure 6:
North American Indian (Non-Status)
Population Survived from 1981 to 1991
Compared to 1991 APS Actual Counts



CHAPTER 4 - SELECTED SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS: 1981-1991 COMPARISON

This section of the report presents selected indicators of the socio-economic characteristics of Canada's Aboriginal population in 1981 and 1991. The indicators presented relate to unemployment and labour force participation rates, employment by occupation and industry group, individual income and highest level of schooling. In addition to presenting data for the total Aboriginal population, data are also presented for each of the four groups comprising the Aboriginal population, as well as data for the non-Aboriginal population. Readers should note that with respect to the non-status Indian population, the 1981 Census and 1991 APS do not appear to be sufficiently comparable to support inferences concerning changes over time for this Aboriginal group.

Labour Market Behaviour

It has long been recognized that conventional measures of employment, unemployment and labour force participation may have limited applicability within the context of Canada's Aboriginal population. Conventional labour force indicators have been developed for monitoring a well-developed labour market and may not adequately reflect the context of employment and economic production in some of the more remote areas of the country. For example, many Aboriginal peoples directly consume what they produce (via hunting, trapping and fishing activities) independent of the formal economy. Such domestic production activities are not reflected in the conventional indicators.

The isolation of many Aboriginal communities may also contribute to deflated levels of labour force participation and unemployment, as measured by conventional indicators. For example, the absence of jobs within a small, isolated community can serve to discourage active job search, and result in many Aboriginal persons being classified as not in the labour force (as defined by Statistics Canada). With this in mind, the present study makes some rather cautious inferences concerning changes in the employment

and labour force participation patterns of Aboriginal peoples.

Unemployment Rates

As illustrated in Figure 7, the unemployment rate among Canada's Aboriginal identity population aged 15 or more years of age was 24.6 percent in 1991, roughly 8.8 percent higher than that reported in 1981 (15.8 percent). By way of comparison, the unemployment rate among the non-Aboriginal population increased by 2.7 percent over the 1981-1991 period, from 7.2 to 9.9 percent. During the period, the size of gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal unemployment rates widened from 8.6 to 14.7 percent. In 1981, the unemployment rate of the Aboriginal population was roughly 2.2 times higher than that of non-Aboriginal population. By 1991, the unemployment rate of the Aboriginal population was approximately 2.5 times higher than that of the non-Aboriginal population.

Figure 7 also reveals that each of the four Aboriginal groups considered in this study experienced much higher rates of unemployment in 1991 than in 1981. Unemployment rate increases during the period were most pronounced

Figure 7:
Aboriginal And Non-Aboriginal Population 15+, Showing The Unemployment Rate, By Aboriginal Group, for Canada, 1981/91

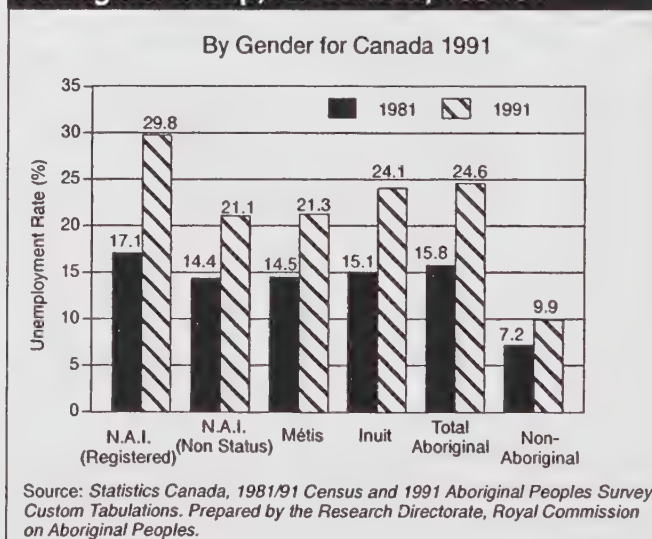
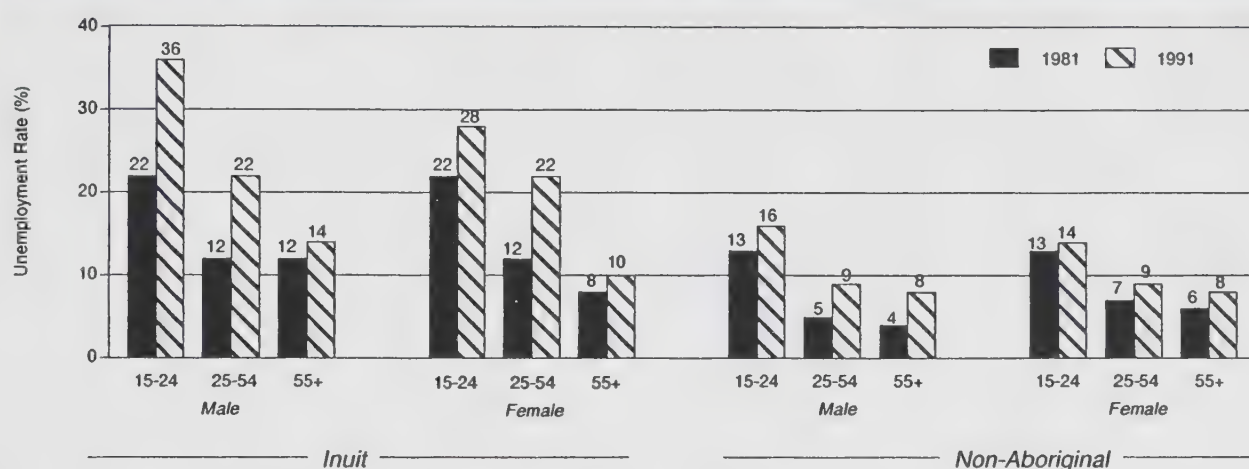


Figure 8:
Inuit And Non-Aboriginal Population, Showing The Unemployment Rate, By Age, By Sex, For Canada, 1981/91

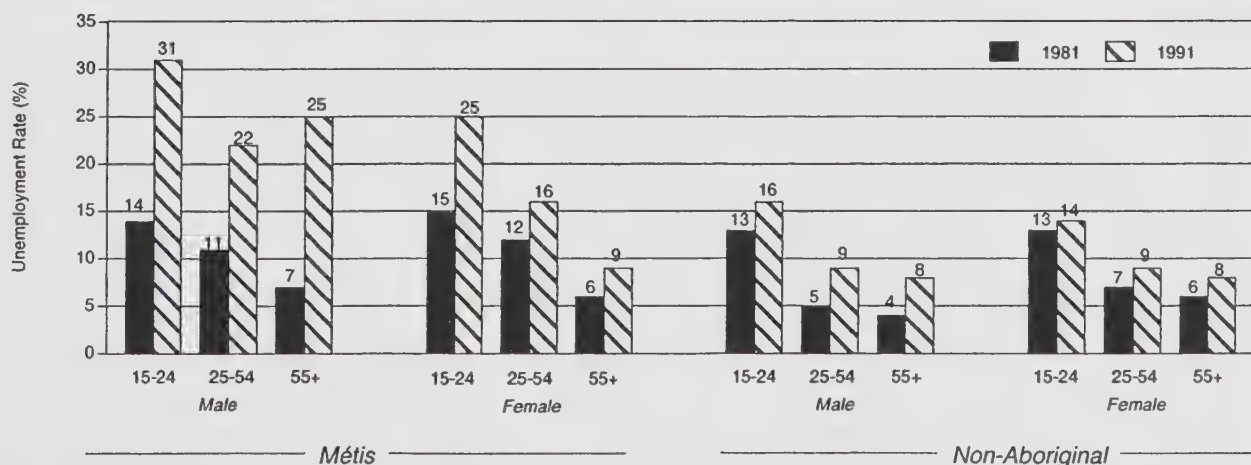


Source: Statistics Canada, 1981/91 Census and 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Custom Tabulations.
Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

among registered Indians (1.7 times higher) and Inuit (1.6 times higher). Among both the non-status Indian and Métis populations, the unemployment rate in 1991 was about 1.5 times higher than that reported in 1981, an increase slightly larger than that reported for the non-Aboriginal population (1.4 times). These results imply that between 1981 and 1991, the size of the Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal gap in unemployment rates widened for each of the four groups comprising the Aboriginal population.

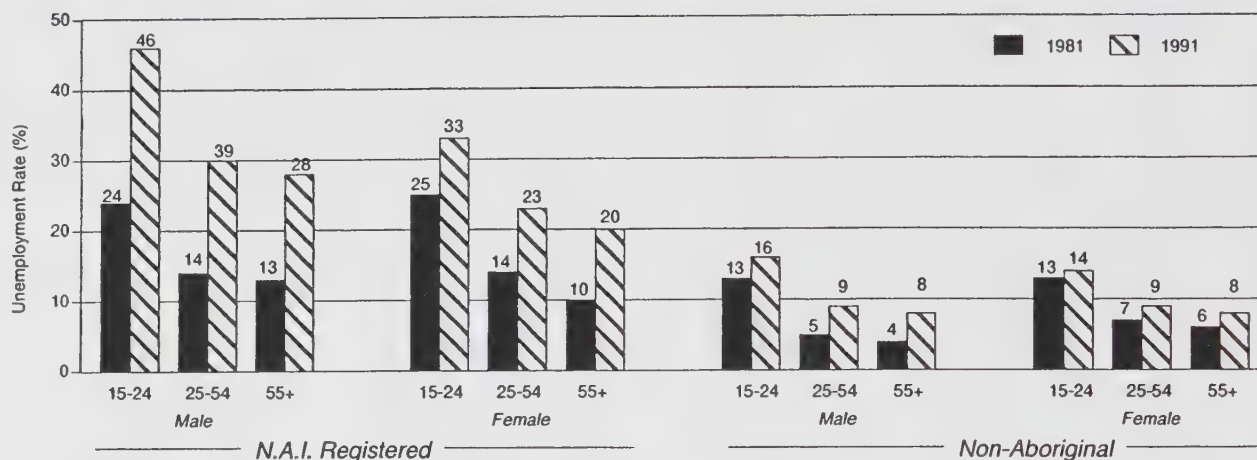
The results of more detailed analysis of unemployment rate changes among age and gender groups are presented in Figures 8-11 for the Inuit, Métis, registered Indian and non-status Indian populations, respectively. As revealed in the figures, the rate of unemployment increased between 1981 and 1991 for all age, gender and Aboriginal groups. Higher rates of unemployment in 1991 were also reported among all age and gender groups among the non-Aboriginal population.

Figure 9:
Métis And Non-Aboriginal Population, Showing The Unemployment Rate, By Age, By Sex, For Canada, 1981/91



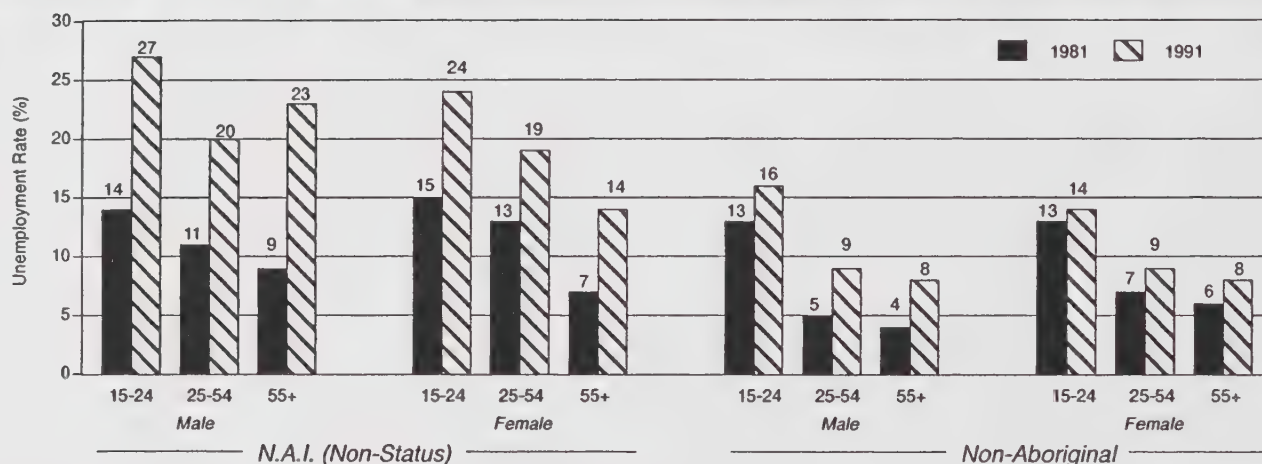
Source: Statistics Canada, 1981/91 Census and 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Custom Tabulations.
Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

Figure 10:
N.A.I. (Registered) And Non-Aboriginal Population, Showing The Unemployment Rate, By Age, By Sex, For Canada 1981/91



Source: Statistics Canada, 1981/91 Census and 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Custom Tabulations.
Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

Figure 11:
N.A.I. (Non-Status) And Non-Aboriginal Population, Showing The Unemployment Rate, By Age, By Sex, For Canada, 1981/91



Source: Statistics Canada, 1981/91 Census and 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Custom Tabulations.
Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

Several general patterns in Aboriginal unemployment rates are observable in comparing the figures. For example, unemployment rates tend to be higher among males than females and among younger (e.g. 15-24 years) as opposed to older age cohorts. In addition, rates of unemployment tend to be higher among the registered Indian and Inuit populations than among the non-status Indian and Métis populations.⁷

Table 1 presents a series of ratios of the 1991/1981 unemployment rates reported by the various population groups. These ratios can be used to

compare the relative extent of unemployment rate increases among the various groups. Higher values for the ratio imply proportionately larger increases in the unemployment rate. Comparison of the ratios for the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations reveals that with the exception of older (55+ years of age) Inuit individuals, unemployment rates increased more sharply among the Aboriginal, as opposed to non-Aboriginal population. This appears to be especially the case among youth (15-24 years) and older (55+ years) individuals.

Table 1
Ratio of 1991 to 1981 Unemployment Rates by Age, Gender and Population Group

Population	Males			Females		
	15-24 Yr.	25-54 Yr.	55+ Yr.	15-24 Yr.	25-54 Yr.	55+ Yr.
Inuit	1.64	1.83	1.27	1.27	1.83	1.25
Métis	2.21	2.00	3.57	1.67	1.33	1.50
N.A.I. (registered) Indian	1.92	2.14	2.15	1.32	1.64	2.00
N.A.I. (non-status) Indian	1.92	1.82	2.56	1.60	1.46	2.00
Non-Aboriginal	1.23	1.80	2.00	1.08	1.29	1.33

Note: A larger ratio implies a larger increase in the rate of unemployment between 1981 and 1991.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981/1991 Census and 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Custom Tabulations
 Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

Within the Aboriginal population, increases in unemployment during the period were especially large among registered Indian, non-status Indian and Métis males (regardless of age), among older registered Indian and non-status Indian females, and among 25-54 year old Inuit males and females. For each of these segments of the Aboriginal population, unemployment rates in 1991 were at least 1.8 times higher than in 1981.

Labour Force Participation

The labour force participation rate provides a measure of the extent to which individuals comprising the labour force age group (i.e. those 15 or more years of age) are active in the labour market. The indicator expresses the active labour force (i.e. those who are either employed or unemployed) as a percentage of the labour force age group.

Figure 12 presents the 1981 and 1991 labour force participation rates for Canada's Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations, as well as for the main groups comprising the Aboriginal population. As revealed in the figure, the 1991 labour force participation rate of the non-Aboriginal population was roughly 19 percent higher than that reported in 1981, a rate of increase which exceeded that of all Aboriginal groups except the Inuit. By way of comparison, the participation rates of Canada's Métis and registered Indian populations increased by 12 and 8 percent, respectively. The rate of labour force participation among non-status Indians declined marginally (about 3 percent) between 1981 and 1991. This decline may be attributable to

differences in the non-status Indian populations captured by the 1981 Census and 1991 APS (as noted in Chapter 3).

Several factors are known to greatly influence participation in the labour force. Gender and stage of one's life cycle have been identified as particularly important factors in this regard. Figures 13 to 16 present rates of labour force participation separately by age and gender groups for the Inuit, Métis, registered Indian and non-status Indian components of the Aboriginal population. Each figure also presents comparable data for the non-Aboriginal population.

The following general observations are supported by the data:

Figure 12:
Aboriginal And Non-Aboriginal Population 15+, Showing The Participation Rate By Aboriginal Group for Canada, 1981/91

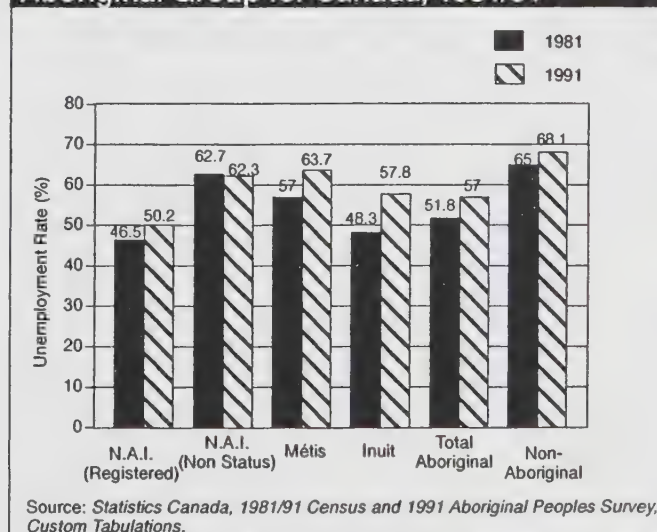
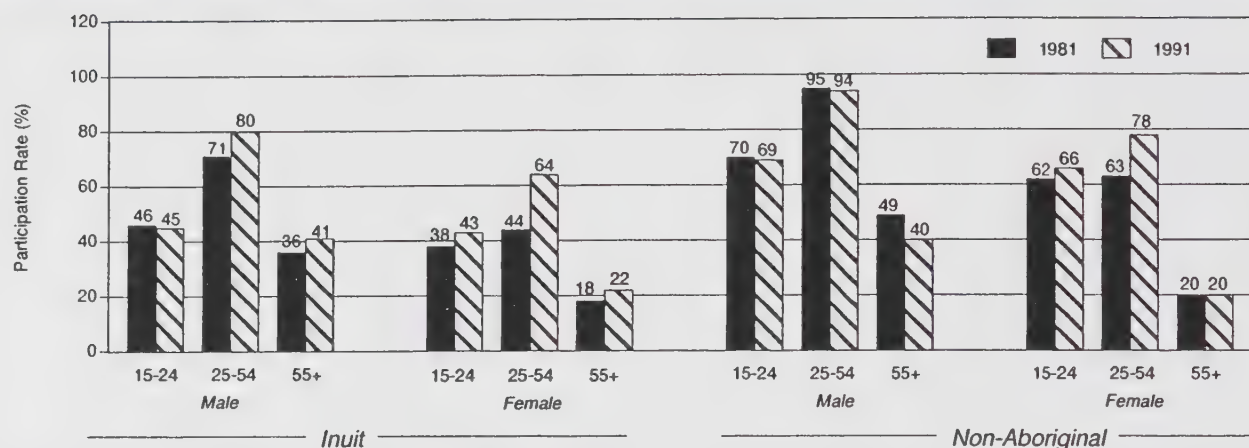
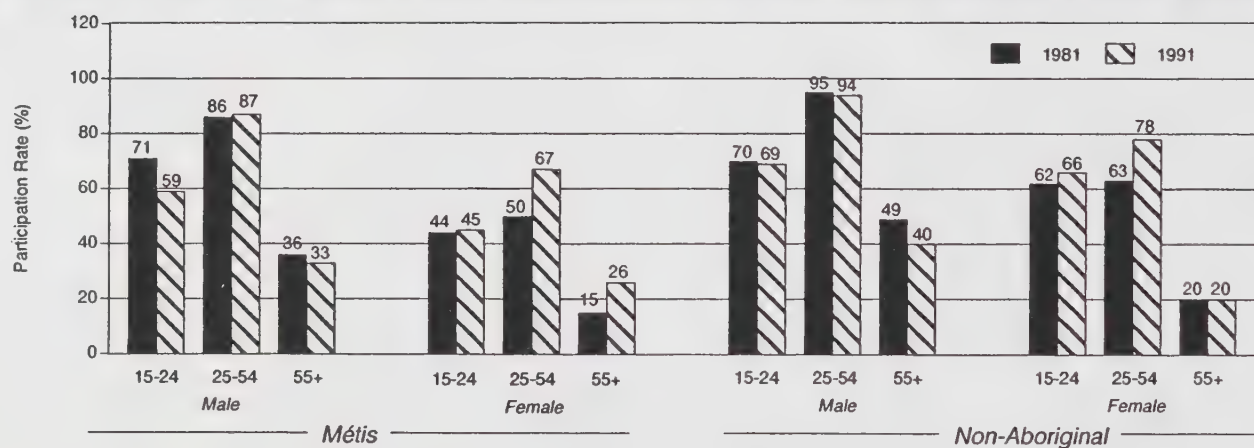


Figure 13:
Inuit And Non-Aboriginal Population, Showing The Participation Rate, By Age, By Sex, For Canada, 1981/91



Source: Statistics Canada, 1981/91 Census and 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Custom Tabulations.
Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

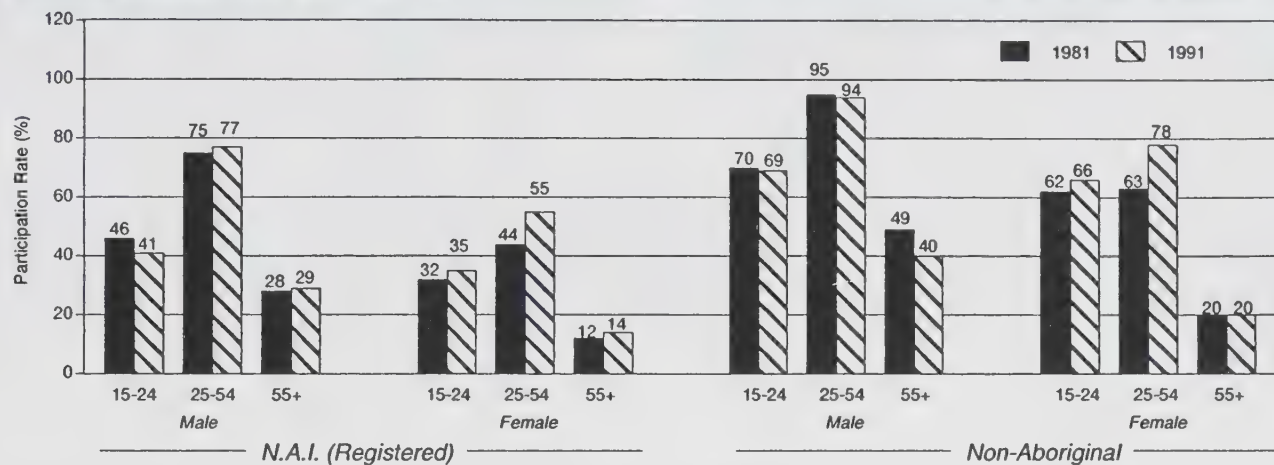
Figure 14:
Métis And Non-Aboriginal Population, Showing The Participation Rate, By Age, By Sex, For Canada, 1981/91



Source: Statistics Canada, 1981/91 Census and 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Custom Tabulations.
Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

- in relation to other Aboriginal groups, labour force participation rates in both 1981 and 1991 were lower among the Inuit and registered Indian populations;
- rates of labour force participation among Canadian women (both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal) increased during the period; however, Aboriginal women in general, remained much less likely than their non-Aboriginal counterparts to be active in the labour force in 1991;
- regardless of age group, females remained less likely than males to be active in the labour force. The pattern of lower labour force participation rates among females exists among all Aboriginal groups, as well as for the non-Aboriginal population;
- rates of labour force participation among non-Aboriginal males remained relatively stable during the period among youth (15-24 years) and individuals aged 25-54 years. The

Figure 15:
N.A.I. (Registered) And Non-Aboriginal Population, Showing The Participation Rate, By Age, By Sex, For Canada, 1981/91



Source: Statistics Canada, 1981/91 Census and 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Custom Tabulations.
 Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

participation rate among older non-Aboriginal males declined sharply during the period;

- in contrast with their non-Aboriginal counterparts, some segments of the Aboriginal male population experienced increased rates of labour force participation during the period. These segments included Inuit, registered Indian and Métis males aged 25-54 years and older Inuit and registered Indian males. Nevertheless Aboriginal males of all age groups reported lower levels of participation than their non-Aboriginal counterparts.
- male youth from all Aboriginal groups reported lower rates of labour force participation in 1991 than 1981. The extent of declining participation was marginal among male Inuit youth, but large among male youth from all other Aboriginal groups;

Although the scale of changes in labour force participation rates varied widely among age, gender and Aboriginal groups, the study's results suggest that several segments of Canada's Aboriginal population were more likely to be active in the labour market in 1991 than in 1981. Increased levels of participation, however, have been accompanied by higher levels of unemployment. The study's results raise special concerns regarding the labour market circumstances of young Aboriginal males. This segment of the Aboriginal population not only

reported lower levels of participation in the labour market in 1991 than 1981, but also experienced much higher rates of unemployment in 1991 than 1981. Evidence suggests that little progress has been made in terms of integrating the current generation of male youth into the labour market.

Employment by Occupation and Industry Group

Several prior studies have found significant differences between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal population with respect to the distribution of employment by occupation and industry group. Although changes over time in the occupation and industry mix of employment has been examined for the general Canadian population in prior research, little is presently known concerning changes in the nature of Aboriginal employment. The study's particular concern in this regard relates to identifying changes in Aboriginal employment levels in those occupations and industries which may become important within the context of forming sustainable Aboriginal self-governments. Data presented in this study concerning employment by occupation and industry group relate to the experienced labour force.⁸

In 1981, Aboriginal employment was most concentrated in three occupation groups; services, clerical, and construction (see Table 2). Collectively, these three groups accounted for

about 42 percent of Aboriginal workers. In 1991, Aboriginal employment remained most heavily concentrated in these occupation groups. At that time, these three occupation groups accounted for about 45 percent of Aboriginal employment. Concentration of employment in these occupations characterized the work forces of each of the four Aboriginal groups. Among the non-Aboriginal population, clerical and service occupations represented the two largest components of employment in 1991, however management/administration occupations formed the third largest component. In contrast with the Aboriginal population, construction occupations accounted for a much smaller segment of employment among the non-Aboriginal population.

In general, the occupational distributions of the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations exhibit similar patterns of change over time, suggesting that broader economic forces have had similar effects on the occupational patterns of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal workers. Major dimensions of change include increased concentrations of employment in occupations characteristic of the service sector, and corresponding declines in the share of employment in occupations characteristic of the primary and secondary (i.e. manufacturing) sectors. Large differences between the Aboriginal

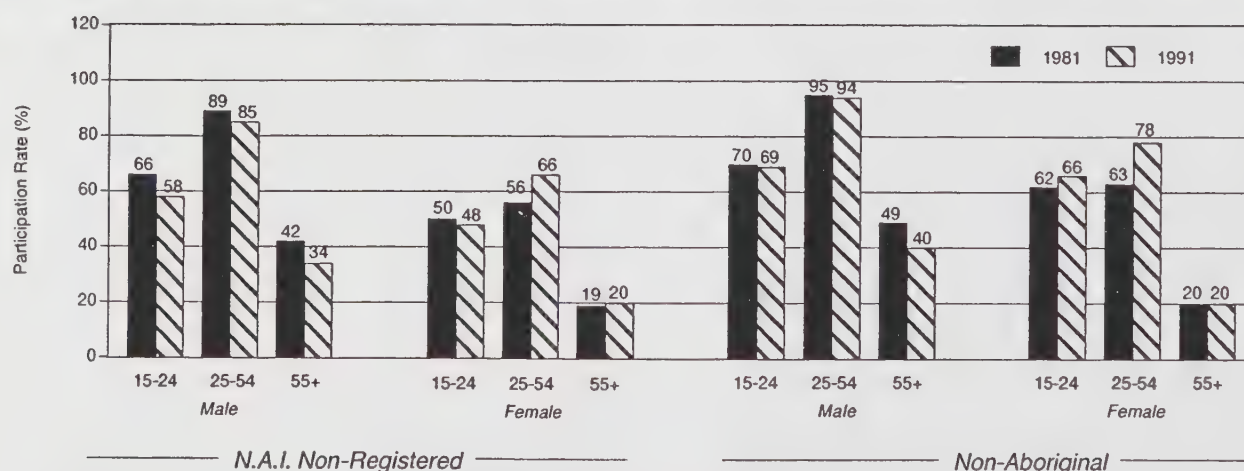
and non-Aboriginal populations occurred among only three occupation groups, including:

- occupations in natural sciences/engineering/mathematics, in which the share of Aboriginal employment remained the same while that of non-Aboriginal employment increased;
- clerical occupations, in which the Aboriginal proportion increased while that of the non-Aboriginal decreased; and
- construction occupations, in which the Aboriginal proportion remained the same but that of the non-Aboriginal decreased.

Although changes were generally small, the share of Aboriginal employment increased in some occupations of interest to self-government. For example, the proportion of the Aboriginal labour force employed in managerial and administrative occupations increased (from 5.2 to 7.2 percent) between 1981 and 1991, a situation also characteristic of the non-Aboriginal labour force. The share of Aboriginal employment associated with teaching, social science and medicine and health care occupations also increased during the period, however by smaller amounts.

Table 3 identifies the distribution of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal employment by major industry group for 1981 and 1991. As in the case

Figure 16:
N.A.I. Non-Status And Non-Aboriginal Population, Showing The Participation Rate, By Age, By Sex, For Canada, 1981/91



Source: Statistics Canada, 1981/91 Census and 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Custom Tabulations.
Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

of occupations, patterns of change over time in employment by industry group are quite similar for the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations. The share of Aboriginal employment in several industries related to self-government experienced increases during the decade. The share of Aboriginal employment in government services increased from 14.6 to 19.7 percent

during the decade. Somewhat smaller but significant increases were also reported for employment in education, health and social services, and retail trade. In the case of the latter industry group, however, the Aboriginal employment level remained much lower than that of the non-Aboriginal population.

Table 2:
Aboriginal Identity Population 15+ in the Experienced Labour Force, Showing the Percentage by Occupation, by Aboriginal Group, Compared to the Non-Aboriginal Population, For Canada, 1981 and 1991

OCCUPATION	N.A.I. (Registered)		N.A.I. (Non-Status)		Métis		Inuit		Total Aboriginal		Non- Aboriginal	
	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
Mngmt./Admin.	5.6	8.1	4.5	6.8	4.8	6.5	5.8	6.8	5.2	7.2	9.0	12.3
Nat. Sci./Eng./Math.	1.5	1.2	1.9	2.1	2.2	2.0	1.4	1.0	1.7	1.7	3.4	4.1
Social Science	4.1	6.0	1.9	3.5	2.5	3.7	1.8	2.8	3.1	4.4	1.6	2.2
Religion	0.1	—	0.1	—	0.1	—	0.3	—	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.2
Teaching	3.8	4.3	2.8	3.0	2.5	3.0	5.5	6.0	3.3	3.7	4.2	4.4
Medicine and Health	2.7	2.9	3.2	3.7	2.8	1.5	1.7	1.9	2.8	3.3	4.5	5.2
Arts and Literature	1.7	1.8	1.3	1.0	1.2	1.5	4.5	6.5	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.7
Clerical	13.0	13.8	15.9	19.1	13.6	14.2	15.9	18.2	13.9	16.0	18.9	18.1
Sales	4.2	3.3	6.3	7.2	4.9	5.6	4.2	2.6	4.8	5.2	9.0	9.3
Service	16.4	17.5	17.5	17.5	17.6	19.2	16.8	18.2	16.9	17.9	12.0	12.7
Farming and Related	3.6	2.6	2.5	2.5	3.1	3.3	0.7	—	3.1	2.6	4.1	3.4
Fishing/Trapping	2.3	2.4	1.1	1.2	1.3	2.0	2.7	2.4	1.8	1.9	0.3	0.3
Forestry and Logging	4.2	3.5	2.9	2.0	2.7	1.7	0.6	—	3.4	2.4	0.7	0.5
Mining and Related	1.2	0.5	1.1	0.7	2.2	1.1	2.5	—	1.5	0.7	0.6	0.4
Processing	5.3	3.0	5.2	2.8	4.2	3.6	3.6	1.1	4.9	3.0	4.1	2.9
Machinery	2.3	1.2	3.0	2.1	2.7	1.6	0.8	—	2.5	1.5	2.7	1.9
Production/Fabrication	5.6	3.4	7.6	5.4	6.6	3.8	5.8	3.7	6.3	4.2	8.1	6.3
Construction	11.6	12.9	8.8	8.9	12.9	12.4	11.1	10.8	11.3	11.3	6.5	5.9
Transportation/Equip.	4.0	4.0	5.5	3.7	5.1	3.9	6.4	8.1	4.7	4.1	4.0	3.6
Material Handling	3.1	1.6	3.5	2.0	3.2	2.4	3.0	2.3	3.2	2.0	2.1	1.6
Other Crafts	0.8	0.7	1.2	0.9	1.2	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.1
Other Occupations	3.3	5.1	2.3	3.9	2.7	3.8	3.2	3.9	2.9	4.3	1.3	2.0

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, 1981/91 Census, 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Custom Tabulations.

The share of Aboriginal employment associated with several industry groups declined during the decade. These declines were most pronounced for employment in manufacturing, mining and related industries, logging and forestry, transportation and storage, and agricultural. The concentration of non-Aboriginal employment in each of these industries also declined during the time period.

Individual Income

Figure 17 presents data concerning the average incomes of individuals aged 15 or more years who reported income for 1980 and 1990.⁹ The income data for the 1980 time period have been adjusted to reflect 1990 constant dollars. Data are presented for the total Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations, as well as for each of the four groups comprising the Aboriginal population.

As revealed in the figure, the average income of Canada's Aboriginal population lagged that of the non-Aboriginal population by a wide margin in both time periods. Although average incomes of the Aboriginal population varied among groups (being lowest among the Inuit and registered Indian population), all four Aboriginal groups reported average incomes substantially below that of the non-Aboriginal in both time periods.

The figure also reveals that the average individual income of the non-Aboriginal population increased during a period (by roughly 4.3 percent),

while that of the Aboriginal population declined (by nearly 5 percent). Between 1980 and 1990, the average individual income of the Aboriginal population declined from about 66 percent to roughly 60 percent that of the non-Aboriginal population.

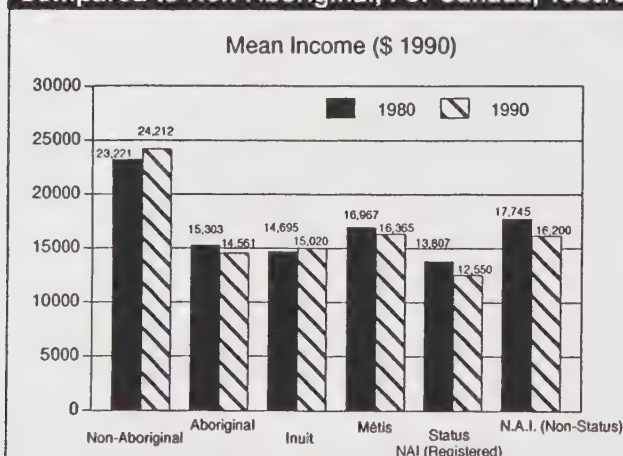
Among Aboriginal groups, only the Inuit population reported a gain in average income (albeit quite small) during the period. Between 1980 and 1990, the average income of registered Indians, non-status Indians and Métis declined by about 9.0, 8.7 and 3.5 percent, respectively. These findings suggest that Aboriginal Canadians experienced a lower level of economic well-being in 1990 than in 1980 and that the income gap between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations grew during the period. These findings are consistent with the study's results concerning changes in unemployment rates during the period, which revealed much larger increases in rates of unemployment among the Aboriginal, as opposed to non-Aboriginal populations.

Highest Level of Schooling Attained

Although influenced by a variety of factors, levels of education and training have a great impact on labour market circumstances and incomes. In this study, data concerning highest level of schooling attained are used to explore changes in the levels of formal education achieved by the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations aged 15 or more years.

Figure 18 presents the distribution of the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations by highest level of schooling for 1981 and 1991. As revealed in the figure, both population groups reported sizeable gains in levels of education levels during the period. Among both population groups, the proportion of the population with less than 9 grades completed fell sharply during the decade, while the proportions with high school completion or at least some post-secondary education increased. Although not presented in this report, data compiled for each of the four Aboriginal groups reveal similar levels of improvement in levels of education. Nevertheless, levels of education among Canada's Aboriginal populations continued to lag those of the non-Aboriginal population by a wide margin in 1991.

Figure 17:
Aboriginal Population 15+ Years Of Age, Showing Mean Income* (\$ 1990), By Aboriginal Group, Compared to Non-Aboriginal, For Canada, 1980/90



*Excludes persons reporting "no income".

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census and 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Custom Tabulations. Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

Table 3:
Aboriginal Identity Population 15+ in the Experienced Labour Force, Showing the Percentage by Industry, by Aboriginal Group, Compared to the Non-Aboriginal Population 15+, For Canada, 1981 and 1991

INDUSTRY	N.A.I. (Registered)		N.A.I. (Non-Status)		Métis		Inuit		Total Aboriginal		Non- Aboriginal	
	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
Agricultural	3.2	1.9	2.1	1.9	2.5	2.5	0.6	—	2.6	2.0	4.1	3.7
Fishing/Trapping	1.9	2.1	1.0	1.3	1.4	2.2	2.6	2.5	1.6	1.9	0.3	0.3
Logging/Forestry	3.9	3.4	3.2	2.2	3.1	1.6	0.5	—	3.5	2.5	0.9	0.7
Mining and Related	2.6	1.3	2.8	1.4	4.7	3.4	7.0	1.7	3.4	1.8	1.8	1.3
Manufacturing	15.1	7.6	19.4	12.2	14.2	9.2	7.5	2.5	15.4	9.3	19.3	14.8
Construction	8.3	8.2	8.1	8.0	11.5	12.0	5.8	6.4	8.9	8.9	6.4	6.5
Transportation/Storage	4.3	3.8	6.0	4.3	6.6	5.1	4.2	4.3	5.2	4.3	4.8	4.4
Communications	2.0	1.7	2.2	2.7	2.7	3.2	4.2	6.0	2.4	2.6	3.3	3.4
Wholesale Trade	2.7	2.0	4.8	3.5	3.6	2.6	2.2	1.2	3.3	2.6	4.8	4.4
Retail Trade	7.3	6.6	9.7	12.1	9.1	9.3	11.8	12.1	8.5	9.5	12.1	12.9
Finance/Insurance	1.2	0.7	2.3	2.0	1.7	1.4	1.1	—	1.6	1.3	3.7	4.1
Real Estate	0.8	0.6	1.2	1.3	1.0	1.0	3.6	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.7	1.7
Business Services	2.1	1.8	2.7	4.2	2.8	3.5	1.9	1.5	2.6	3.0	4.2	5.7
Government Services	19.1	30.1	8.6	12.9	10.0	11.0	19.8	28.3	14.6	19.7	7.6	7.6
Educational Services	6.8	13.5	4.2	5.7	4.8	6.8	8.8	9.1	5.8	6.8	6.6	6.9
Health & Social Services	6.8	8.5	7.0	9.0	6.7	9.2	5.4	7.9	6.7	8.8	7.4	9.0
Accommodation/Food	7.1	7.0	9.5	8.4	8.8	9.9	4.8	7.0	7.9	8.1	5.7	6.3
Other Services	4.7	5.2	4.3	6.9	5.0	6.2	8.3	6.7	4.9	6.1	4.0	6.6

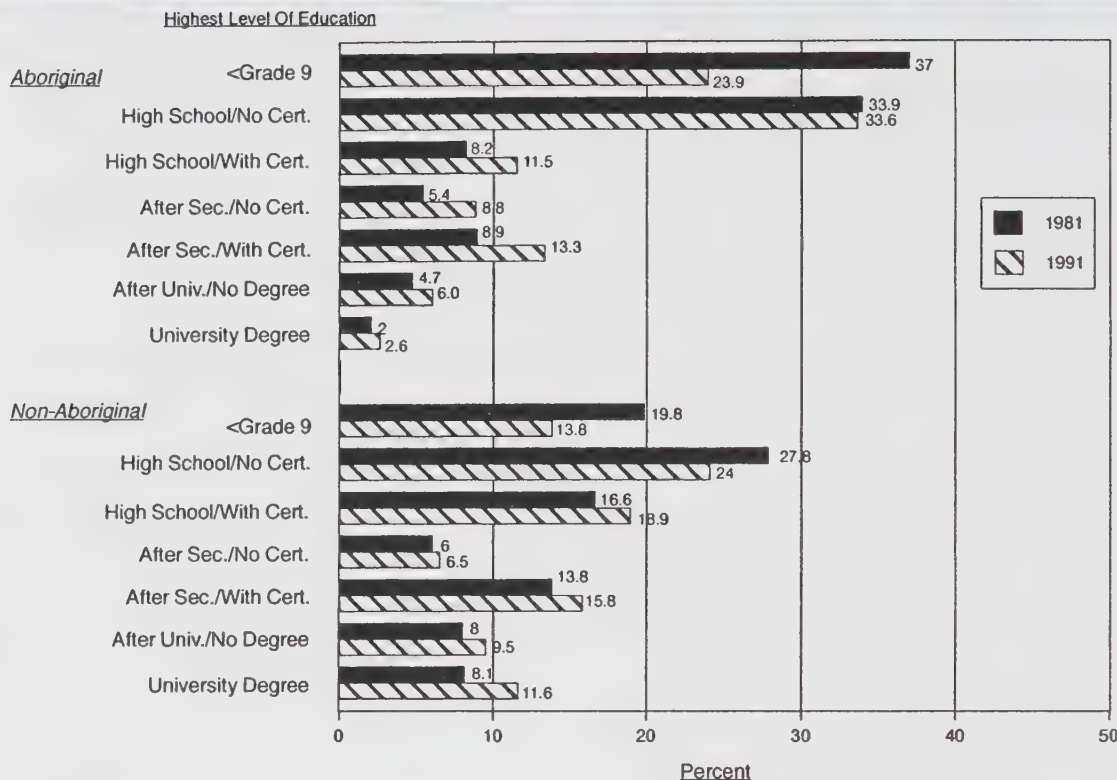
SOURCE: Statistics Canada, 1981/91 Census, 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Custom Tabulations.

While the data presented in Figure 18 suggest that the size of “educational gap” between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations was reduced during the decade, levels of university attendance and completion among the Aboriginal population did not increase at the same pace as those among the non-Aboriginal population. Widening of the gap between the two populations in terms of university level education appears to have occurred during the decade.

Data for individual Aboriginal groups suggest that large improvements in levels of education over the decade occurred among each of the groups. The relative scale of these improvements is illustrated in Figures 19 and 20 for the population of youth (i.e. individuals aged 15-24 years).¹⁰ Figure 19

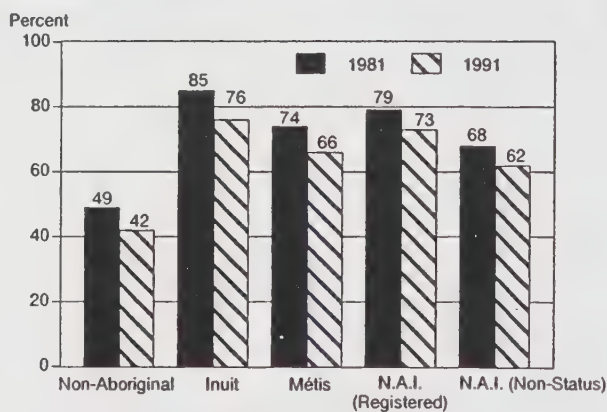
reveals that for each Aboriginal group, the proportion of the youth population that had not completed high school declined over the decade. For all Aboriginal groups, however, the rate of improvement was lower than that of the non-Aboriginal population. As revealed in Figure 20, a similar situation exists in terms of post-secondary education levels. During the decade, the proportion of Aboriginal youth who had undertaken some post-secondary education increased among each Aboriginal group. With the exception of Inuit youth, however, the scale of the increase among Aboriginal youth was smaller than that reported by their non-Aboriginal counterparts. Although Canada's Aboriginal population recorded sizeable gains in levels of formal

Figure 18:
Aboriginal And Non-Aboriginal Population 15+, Showing The Percentage By Highest Level Of Education, For Canada, 1981/91



Source: Statistics Canada, 1981/91 Census and 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Custom Tabulations.
Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

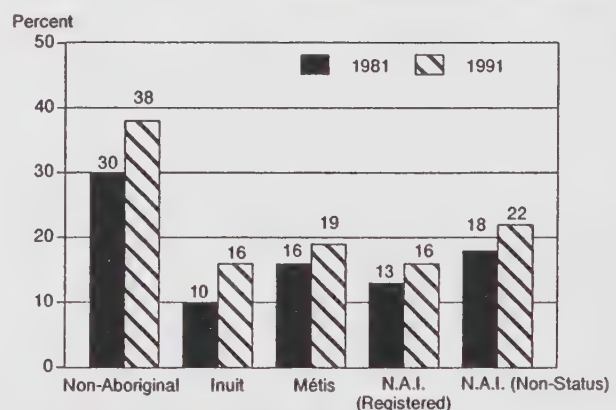
Figure 19:
Aboriginal Population 15-24, Showing The Percentage With Less Than High School*, For Canada, 1981/91



*Excludes persons still attending school.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981/91 Census and 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Custom Tabulations. Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

Figure 20:
Aboriginal Population 15-24, Showing The Percentage With At Least Some Post-Secondary*, For Canada, 1981/91



*Excludes persons still attending school.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981/91 Census and 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Custom Tabulations. Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

education during the period, education levels of the current generation of Aboriginal youth appear

to have fallen further behind those of the non-Aboriginal population.

CHAPTER 5 - SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The study has attempted to determine whether sufficient comparability of the Aboriginal populations captured by the 1981 Census and 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey exists to support analysis of change over the time with respect to Aboriginal socio-economic circumstances. In this regard, analysis of Aboriginal population counts from the two data bases suggests that with the exception of the non-status Indian population, the populations identified by the two data sources appear to be sufficiently similar to support analyses of change.

Subsequent comparisons of select socio-economic indicators in 1981 and 1991 suggest that although some improvements in the socio-economic well-being of Canada's Aboriginal population occurred during the time period, the population continues to lag the non-Aboriginal population in this regard by a large margin. In spite of widespread increases in labour force participation during the decade, unemployment rates among most segments of the Aboriginal population also increased sharply during the period. In 1991, the size of the gap in unemployment rates between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal population was larger than in 1981, especially among youth.

With the exception of the Inuit population which reported negligible gains in incomes during the period, average incomes among the Aboriginal population were lower in 1990 than in 1980. As in the case of unemployment rates, the size of the

income gap between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations also appears to have grown during the period.

In spite of widespread and substantial improvements between 1981 and 1991, the educational levels of Canada's Aboriginal population continued to lag those of the non-Aboriginal population by a wide margin in 1991. Some narrowing of the overall gap in education levels between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations appears to have occurred during the decade. Nevertheless, in relation to the non-Aboriginal population, the Aboriginal population was less likely in 1991 than in 1981 to have completed a university degree. Moreover, the study's results also suggest that educational levels among the current generation of Aboriginal youth have not kept pace with those of the non-Aboriginal population.

On the whole, the study's results with respect to changes in Aboriginal socio-economic circumstances are not encouraging. Although sizeable improvements in Aboriginal education represent a positive development, the labour market conditions and incomes of the population appear to have deteriorated during the decade. In this regard, the level of economic well-being of Canada's Aboriginal population appears to have fallen further behind that of the non-Aboriginal population.

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1. Persons who were reporting a response under the Native Peoples column were asked to ignore the phrase in the question, "on first coming to this continent".
2. The APS followed extensive consultations, held jointly with Statistics Canada and representatives from Aboriginal organizations such as the Assembly of First Nations, the Council of Aboriginal Peoples (formerly the Native Council of Canada), the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, as well as representatives from numerous research and service organizations and the federal, provincial and territorial governments.
3. The survival rates employed in this study were derived from research on Canada's registered Indian population. The study assumes that Inuit survival rates are the same as those of registered Indians. Rates for the Métis and non-status Indian populations are assumed to be midway between the survival rates of the registered Indian and general Canadian populations. For further details on these rates see : The Social Trends Analysis Directorate, Department of the Secretary of State, and Demography Division, Statistics Canada. Projections of Canada's Aboriginal Population, 1986-2011., Supply and Services. Cat. No.S2 232/2011E.
4. The population counts presented in this report will not necessarily correspond to published figures released by Statistics Canada. This results from data adjustments undertaken in this study to remove reserve populations which did not participate in both surveys. In addition, the study has assigned individuals who reported more than one Aboriginal identity group into only one of the Aboriginal groups. Roughly 1 percent of the APS population reported multiple Aboriginal identities. These individuals were allocated randomly to one of the identity groups reported by the individual. This differs from the practice followed in APS publications.
5. The possibility of several individuals who reported Métis origins in 1981 gaining status under the provisions of Bill C-31 would appear to be high, especially in the Prairie region, where Métis communities are often located adjacent to Indian reserves. Within such contexts, the likelihood of inter-marriages between registered Indians and Métis individuals would seem to be quite high. Some Indian women who lost status through marriage to a Métis male may have reported Métis origins in the 1981 Census, subsequently regained status through Bill C-31 and then reported registered Indian identity in the APS. This situation could also apply to the woman's children. At present, no empirical evidence exists on this issue.
6. As Bill C-31 registrants are excluded from the registered Indian data presented in this study, the population counts reported here differ considerably from those published by Statistics Canada. In addition, a small number of respondents to the APS did not respond to the question concerning registered Indian status and/or the question concerning Bill C-31 registration. In this study, registered and Bill C-31 status was imputed for these non-respondents. Errors associated with this procedure are believed to be small and inconsequential to the analysis.
7. Although data are not presented in the figures, the C-31 population (i.e. those persons who regained status since 1985 and in this study were allocated back into the 1991 non-status Indian population), had a 1991 unemployment rate of 22.2 percent. In contrast, those non-status Indians who did not regain status had an unemployment rate of only 16.2 percent, a rate closer to that of the non-Aboriginal rate (9.9 percent) than that of the total Aboriginal population (24.6 percent).
8. The experienced labour force includes individuals who worked since the beginning of the calendar year prior to the census to the time of the census (e.g. from January 1, 1990 to June 4, 1991). For individuals employed during the week prior to the census, occupation and industry information relates to the job held during that week. For individuals who did not work during that week, the data relate to the job held for the longest duration (in terms of hours worked) during the 18 month reference period.

9. Average income data presented in this study exclude individuals who did not report income in 1980 and/or 1990. Income data from the Census relate to the full calendar year prior to the Census year.
10. The population aged 15-24 years has been highlighted in this study as it loosely represents the current generation of school leavers. While many individuals continue their formal education beyond this age, most complete their formal education while a member of this age group.

